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to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

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girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inakudun*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *uñam domo* ("loose woman").

MARRIAGE[7]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakeltun*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakelchefe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakelchefe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of connubial bliss.

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakelchefe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *trawun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. As the festiv-

[7] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 231–69; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719–20.

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574 584 ities proceed people seat themselves on skins or blankets, food and drinks are served, and elderly men and women may smoke pipes. Soon joking, *ayükulen*, begins and, as the crowd warms up, songs are rendered by anyone who desires to sing.[8] No matter who else sings, a chance is always provided for the suitor to make a proposal, which the intended bride is expected 583 to parry.[9] "*C'est de bon ton*," as Housse expressed it.[10] Nevertheless, before the assembly breaks up, the groom's father gives a valuable present to the girl's father as a token of the bride price, and the couple contrive to set a date for an "abduction."[11]

When the appointed time comes the groom sets out on horseback after dark, accompanied by a small party comprising brothers, male cousins, or friends. The bride and her family may or may not offer a spirited resistance, but in any event the lover manages to seize his sweetheart and to ride off with her to the home of an intermediary, *rañiñelwe*, where, by previous arrangement, the couple spend the night. The next morning, in the presence of witnesses, the *rañiñelwe* notifies the groom's father that his son has abducted a woman, and the father publicly announces the extent of the payment he is prepared to make to the girl's father. Arrangements are then completed for the *ñillanentun*, which is the bestowal of the purchase price. This step is also taken before witnesses to discourage either party from violating earlier agreements. When, at last, the entire transaction has been completed, a go-between brings the fathers of the principals together so that they may shake hands in public. At this stage the girl's parents bring household goods and other presents for the newlyweds, and the bride's mother is expected to invite the couple and her daughter's affinal relatives to pay a visit to her home. From this time on,

[8] This custom is described in Titiev, 1949.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[10] Housse, 1939, p. 242.

[11] Reference is here made to the Araucanian custom generally called "mock rape." The Mapuche consistently describe the custom by the Spanish word *rapto*, which may be translated either as "rape" or "abduction."

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591 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband, but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in 'Woman's Song' Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.[13]

574 585 Further proof that the Araucanians themselves recognize how difficult a strain unilocal, patrilocal residence imposes on a bride may be found in the customs of postmarital oratory and visiting. Soon after a daughter has been "abducted," as was noted above, her parents come to stay at her new home for several days during which they receive the bride price, present gifts, and extend invitations for return visits. While the wedding festivities are still in progress, the bride's father addresses a long speech to his son-in-law, urging him to have no fear, asking him to treat his wife fairly and considerately, and offering to take back his daughter if ever the groom should tire of her. The groom's father also gives advice to the newlyweds. Somewhat later the couple pays a return visit to the bride's natal home. There is much feasting and talking and many questions are asked to determine how the young wife is getting along. Quite commonly, plans for future visits are made at this time.

586 Despite the strains and stresses brought about by the marriage customs divorces, as distinct from mere separations, rarely occur. A woman who is unhappily married may, indeed, insist on returning to her natal home and having the bride price restored to the groom. Unless such action is taken very soon after a marriage, however, it is apt to lead to so much unpleasantness that it is avoided. In fact, distressed brides sometimes prefer [762] suicide to any other arrangement.[14] The rarity of divorce is also 586 correlated with the practice of polygyny, for a dissatisfied hus- 595 band may take another mate without the need of divorcing his previous spouse. If he finds that the two women cannot get

[13] Titiev, 1949, p. 16.
[14] Cf. Hoesse, 1939, p. 240.

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ASSEMBLIES, GAMES, AND CEREMONIES

ASSEMBLIES

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Large assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *purrun* are important features of Araucanian culture.[1] Their impact on the lives of the people can best be appreciated in the light of certain aspects of their social organization. It must be recalled that Mapuche communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion and a corresponding lack of communal activities. Throughout the year there is a fair amount of intrareservation visiting, but contacts with other reductions are quite rare, especially in the cold and rainy season when roads wash out and travel is all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every settlement tends to be cut off from its neighbors:

> The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings . . . are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants,[2] to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place,[3] to celebrate a holiday . . . or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability. Whatever their particular aims may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.[4]

Notwithstanding the variety of purposes underlying these reunions, they seem to follow a similar pattern, and even the

[1] These words may be variously spelled, and some writers try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All public assemblies have so many points in common that it seems permissible to treat them together. Cf. Robles, 1912, p. 171.

[2] McBride (1936, p. 311) described a congress held to discuss land problems.

[3] A meeting of this sort is reported in Robles, 1912, pp. 171–81.

[4] Titiev, 1949, pp. 3–4.

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events that are avowedly secular are interspersed with prayers and other forms of religious expression. One of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day, even points to the existence of a kind of ritual calendar. The use of Saint John's Day is not necessarily an instance of basic Christian influence. Even the most pagan of the Mapuche use the term because it is a convenient way of designating the winter solstice, which almost coincides with the fiesta of San Juan on June 24. To most Araucanians Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of a new year. In their own language the date is known as *rañiñtripantu* ("mid-point of the year") or *wetripantu* ("new year").[5] The following account of a San Juan fiesta is based on material supplied by Domingo Carilaf, school teacher at Carrarriñe, who got it from his grandmother.

With the approach of the year's turning point each *loñko* or cacique would send his *werkens* to invite a large number of guests. Customarily, these included married daughters with their children, husbands and affinal relatives, as well as other kinfolk and personal friends. The chief's retainers would prepare great amounts of favorite foods and beverages, and the guests were expected to bring much bread and freshly slaughtered meat, but no beverages. Just prior to the arrival of the visitors, the *loñko* sacrificed a sheep and prayed for peace and happiness for himself, his followers, and his guests. While praying he would look up to the sky, addressing himself to the good deity *ñunechen*, often called *chau* ("father"). From time to time he would blow on the *pimuntuwe*, a perforated stone disc, which the Mapuche regarded with great reverence;[6] and every now and then he would sprinkle from a wooden dish some of the sacrificed sheep's blood.

Guests were expected to remain from two to seven days.

[5] Augusta (1916, I: 233) gave an excellent rendering of the meanings of *wetripantu*: "*El tiempo en que vuelve el sol del norte (año nuevo según el cómputo natural), la primavera; el año nuevo (político).*" See also Augusta, 1934, p. 35; and Cooper, 1946, p. 747.

[6] *Pimuntuwes* are pictured and discussed in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 36–38.

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574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *füllatun*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kauiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kauiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *loncc mea*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *lonko purun*. Latcham said that *loncc mea* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Marquiel, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautín River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations.

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims

[7] For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8] The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9] Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

684 Where a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

836 Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

685 Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

847 Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

677 Neither incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, in the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

628 Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

733 935 Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during their feasts the most unbridled lewdness prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

611 To this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

574 A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An inhospitable person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same fire or skin; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

577 The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

131 *Lores.*—When the Spaniards arrived in Southern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lavquen-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region. *Inapire-mapu* or level land was the central valley. *Inan-pire-mapu*

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it. The families of the two men eat this one together. Months later 572
the man who founded his friend slaughters one of his lambs or sheep and takes it and his family to his friend's ruka. Here he presents this friend with the slaughtered animal. His friend accepts the animal but slaughters one of his own sheep or lambs and with it feasts the man and the man's family. I remember my brother giving a konchotun for his friend about 10 years ago. A woman can treat a woman friend or a man whom she holds in high esteem in the same manner; or a man may treat in the same manner a woman whom he greatly respects. Always the families on both sides are included in the eating. All this is done with deep respect, and with no lewdness." The informant, ready to leave for home, slightly amused, said to me, "You bring me a gift tomorrow, and then I will make a konchotun for you. There has been no konchotun in this area for seven years; it costs too much to give one." If a konchotun is performed these days it is nearly always an expression of friendship between two families or between a group of families in one area and a similar group from another area, rather than between two unmarried men, and always it is carried out in the gilletun.

COURTESY, HOSPITALITY, HELPFULNESS

Courtesy is a characteristic of present-day Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, it always has been. It is extended to members of the immediate and the extended families, to friends, neighbors, acquaintances, and strangers. Courtesies taught to children were observed among adults everywhere. To interrupt a speaker, for example, is bad manners. So is walking in front of anyone. "Only someone who has no intelligence will do either. Small children know enough not to do them." In some forms, courtesies must follow conventions. Two persons passing each other on foot some distance apart or on horseback call "Mari mari!" (hello) to each other: the younger person must do so first, if there is much difference in age. When meeting any place, face to face, everyone shakes hands—men, women, and children. A mother will take the hand of the baby in her arms and present it to everyone. "Whatever else you forget," said the Araucanian who instructed me in visiting customs, "do not forget to shake hands on every occasion with every Mapuche; that is all-important." The interpreter added, "That puts you on a level with the Mapuche—they feel equal to all other human beings, and they are sensitive about this equality." 576

The reception given to visitors is somewhat formalized, also. In 574
general, when a visitor approaches a ruka, someone will emerge and

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574 walk toward him, especially if the visitor has been inivted or if there is a barking dog nearby. Should an unexpected visitor be approaching or an unexpected person be accompanying the invited visitor, the door of the ruka is closed and no one appears on the scene until all is in readiness within the ruka. Visitors, in such instances, linger at a little distance, awaiting the opening of the door and a call to enter, or they await the appearance of someone who will give a greeting of welcome. If neither of these happens within a reasonable time, the visitor may knock on the door. If there is no response, he leaves the place knowing that he is not welcome at that particular time. On one occasion my companions and I met no response and consequently left the place. When we were well on our way over the top of a hill, we saw the woman and her children leave the ruka for a bath in a river nearby. The following day we were met by the woman some distance from the ruka and given a hearty welcome, but no explanation was offered for the preceding day's silence. The woman had merely done the customary thing. On another occasion the interpreter wished to deliver some medicines at a ruka we were passing en route to another family. She walked up to the ruka and called the woman's name. When we were still some distance from the ruka, we had seen the woman and her two little girls enter it and close the door. When there was no response, the interpreter remarked that in all probability the ruka was not in order, and we walked on. On our way home the woman stood outside the open door and greeted us. We chatted a little in her yard, and then she invited us to enter her ruka. Low benches had been set and covered, and the little girls were in their best dresses.

When a visitor is expected at a ruka, either a sheep pelt or woven throw is placed on each low bench or low chair or on the floor, close to the fireplace. In a ruka to which we had been invited to observe the making of mote (wheat cooked with ashes, cf. pp. 206-207) the mother ordered a child to replace a sheep pelt with a newly woven throw. "Certainly, child," the mother said, "we must give visitors our best; that is only being courteous!" One is seated only after he has shaken hands with everyone present, including anyone busy near the ruka or in the garden who comes in to shake hands and then returns to his work. Once seated, one inquires about the health and well-being of all the members of the family, and for the whereabouts of those not present. Similar questions are asked of the visitor. This done, one begins to tell the purpose of the visit. Never, under any circumstances, does one begin with one's business immediately upon being seated. We noticed that all men and women—in some instances

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older children, too—who came to the mission to obtain medicines never neglected to inquire about the Sisters' household before telling their needs, no matter how sick the person for whom the medicines requested was. 574

A son-in-law, upon the arrival at the ruka of his father-in-law, shakes hands with everyone and then carries on a koyaqtun with his father-in-law; that is a long discourse, in a rather high-pitched tone, of formalized expressions, which follows a well-established pattern of compliments and of questions regarding the well-being of each other and all persons related to them. A koyaqtun is also conducted when the bride price is paid, and at the ŋillatun. A boy is formally trained in conducting one. 574 606 [537]

A surprise courtesy, called awn, by which persons on horseback ride in a circle around a visitor, is sometimes extended to visitors, even today. An awn is also carried out at a burial (cf. pp. 160, 163). During a fiesta Araucanian and non-Araucanian women and I strolled across pasture land, chatting and visiting. Five young men and one woman on horseback galloped out to us, circled about us several times shouting, and then galloped back to where the rest of the people were. "That was for you," said the Araucanian women to me. "We are all glad that you and Señorita Marguerita are here. This is an old custom we have by which we show our appreciation of visitors." 574

Araucanians are hospitable toward one another and toward strangers. Cooper notes that generous hospitality was a well-recognized avenue to status (1946, pp. 729, 727). In nearly every ruka visited during the present study, the field assistant, the interpreter, and I were offered food and/or yerba maté. Apparently a non-Araucanian may decline both without offending; an Araucanian cannot, for the one making the offer is hurt thereby. According to Cooper's informants a guest was expected to eat all food set before him (1946, p. 729). When it became known that we declined eating with the family because we had carried a lunch, we were usually given food to take home with us, generally eggs or fresh vegetables from the family garden. On one occasion, after a brief visit with a woman in her yard, she entered her ruka and emerged with a handful of wheat. She scattered this at her feet and invited the chickens to eat it. Three young hens came, and she grabbed the largest one and handed it to us, saying she wanted us to have it. Persons overtaken by darkness or rain are always welcome in a ruka and are invited to spend the night there. 574 431

Willingness to help is another characteristic of the Araucanians. Neighbors—these are nearly always relatives—can always be relied on for assistance when needed. Even those very distantly related have 574 [735]

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574 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a home, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the ñillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152 578 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a choapino (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that choapino," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her acount with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152 828 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

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804 head end of an ox horn and plugging the narrower end with a wooden stopper. The measure is still used in Chilean stores in the Araucanian country. Today, also, the Chilean almud (0.8 liter, dry measure) is used—a box is the measuring implement. A man may be paid in almuds of wheat for cutting grain. No Araucanian measure of weight was known to informants.

Distances today, as formerly, are measured by time consumed in covering them on horseback. Riding is done in daytime; at nights, only in case of sickness or a similar urgent reason. Distances are spoken of as "a half day on horseback," "less than a half day," "more than a half day," "a day," "three days," etc. "The distance across Chile from the coast of the Pacific here in Alepúe to the Argentine line, past Villarrica, is three days on horseback by a swift, safe rider," said an Alepúe horseman.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

●574 Visiting back and forth is done primarily among relatives. Occasionally an entire family sets out with the intention of visting relatives; at other times visiting is concomitant to work, such as harvesting or the building of a ruka. Any person is welcome to drop in en route at the ruka of a relative. Families not related meet at fiestas, where acquaintances are renewed and visiting is done. Within the family itself visiting is done while members wait for meals, during rest periods, or in the evening; things talked about are the work and the happenings of the day; news is relayed, if any has been heard.

521 The Araucanian is a good conversationalist and may become very animated. However, he probably does not converse on all occasions merely to be talking. At fiestas women were seen sitting together for hours, quietly observing what was going on, while the men gathered in groups, generally according to age, smoked, and discussed current topics. In the summer of 1946-47 the principal subjects of conversation [648] were the harvest, which they feared would be insufficient because of unfavorable weather at growing time, and the propaganda that was being spread by Communists in the area that the United States would soon make Chile an American colony. At a fiesta in Alepúe area, plans for a program that was to be held in the afternoon, mostly oratory and choike dances, formed one of the chief topics of conversation. At intervals, all during that day, both men and women regaled themselves with chicha from a small keg. Occasionally, one of the men filled a bottle and went about filling cups of those who were thirsty. By the

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COURTESY, HELPFULNESS

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that no one enter a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at intoxicated ones. I will not allow my children to do that."

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke in quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a flour sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She next stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grassless plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grassless plot from a brook at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba maté (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba maté, so we gave no offense by not taking it.

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Araucanians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

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834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night,
574 their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—
513 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however, a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now growing up to be a man,'" but there was no puberty rite, nor was a boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan kawiñ and the personality test, described above, might be performed for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any, had occurred. The katan kawiñ, resembling the katawe in that the skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (ñishem or ũshem, cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan kawiñ was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters. Occasionally, the katan kawiñ was performed on older men for the same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

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576 tains is treacherous and may make you sick." Another complimented my assistant on the pronunciation of Araucanian words: "You would make a good Araucanian señorita; your accent is nearly perfect." Always persons covered the mouth when coughing and turned from everyone when using a handkerchief.

In general, adults assisted me in every way, especially in demonstrating activities or showing objects that we were learning about. Specimen plants were collected; spinning and weaving were demonstrated; sample pieces of pottery were made. Adults, and children too, walked long distances to show us the way to informants; they carried our luggage and relayed messages for us. Kolupan, however, hesitated to make a sample cradle. His eyes were poor, he said, and it would take too much effort to collect colihüe stalks that he would need in making the cradle; in any event, it would take time to make one. When we promised him pay, he remarked, "Money is not important." He thought a little while, looked at the field assistant, and said, "I shall make one for you, Señorita Margarita." Several days later he returned with the cradle (pl. 74, *1*, *2*) and explained how he had made it. This done, he handed the cradle to my assistant, and said: "This is for you, señorita. Tie your first baby boy to it and call him Kolupan."

574 Hospitality has always been a virtue of the Araucanians and is so today. Handshaking upon meeting is an old custom, and not one adopted from Argentines, old informants insisted. Whenever we arrived in a house, everyone stepped forward to shake hands and to express a greeting. A child too young to do so unassisted was helped by someone older. On one occasion all was set for an interview with a man in his eighties. We asked a question, but instead of answering it, he made his way around chairs and a table to shake hands with my assistant, which he had forgotten to do. Having done this he said, "Now let us begin to talk."

Benches, chairs, or boxes were covered with pelts or small throws, often by a child, before they were offered for sitting. Upon our arrival at the home of a cacique (pl. 77, *1*), he walked briskly toward us, shook hands warmly and wholeheartedly with everyone who had arrived, and invited us to the family sun shelter where his wife and children had quickly prepared benches for us.

An expression of genuine hospitality today is to treat visitors to yerba maté soon after their arrival. "When we see anyone coming up these mountains, we stir up the fire and get water to boil for yerba maté." A child is usually assigned these tasks. A cup of yerba maté with a bombilla is then passed around, each person taking a draught

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and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 574

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

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side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the poncho, she noted. For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was, and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly caciques reclined sidewise, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolupan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the guanaco; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martin de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

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was over, the man's family presented the girl's family with silver things, and with homewoven clothing usually consisting of chamall used for chiripe by the men, and chamall and ekull for the women. Then the girl's family reciprocated with gifts. As soon as the girl's mother accepted the gifts offered her by the man's family the man was allowed to take the girl away. Next, advice was given by the father of the girl to the man; by the father of the man, to the girl; and by aunts and uncles on both sides to both bride and groom. The chief advice was that they live peacefully together and not be quarrelsome. The man then took his bride to his parental home, where another feast was held. "But all this changed when they began to chase us from our land," said Kolupan. "When I was married things were no longer done in the old way. I took my wife by myself and took no one with me when I got her. The time for paying for wives was past, and it never came back." The traditional custom of having the woman live with her husband in his paternal home is followed today. 585

Elopement has never been considered a proper form of marriage, but after a lapse of time the couple was considered married.

DESERTION, SEPARATION, INFIDELITY

Desertions were rare in the early days. The woman on her part would have had no place to go, if she had left her husband's home. If she did leave her husband it was because he ill-treated her. "My husband hit me a great deal, even when he was not drunk. Living with him was difficult. There was hardly a day in which I did not weep. I finally left him. Our two sons stayed with him, but after two years they came to me. Today a woman can support herself and will not stay with a husband whose conduct is unbearable. I do housework for an Argentine family." 586

The children of a separated couple were usually reared by the paternal grandparents or paternal aunts. If a wife, especially of a cacique, was unfaithful, her paramour was usually killed. [684]

IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS AND TABOOS, JOKING RELATIONSHIPS

When the immediate family of a woman and her close relatives paid her their first visit after her marriage (she left her family for her husband's home on the day of her marriage) they were received in a conventional manner. The woman dressed in her best clothing and wore her silver ornaments. She, her husband, and her husband's relatives received the guests by reciting a formal welcome in a high-pitched voice while sitting on their haunches. The informant chanted it in Araucanian: "Here comes my mother! Here comes my mother!" 574 585 [516]

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574 She explained, "We sang the same to each person as he came up on
585 his horse, such as 'Here comes my aunt!' 'Here comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai. Chachai. Chahai. Eimi, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you' Formerly our people raised their
[195] voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she mimicked it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not on the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatves."

606 Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were institutional. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kolupan, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever.' A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is piien.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-
[591] law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS ABODE, SACRED FIGURINES

776 The idea of God as creator is expressed as fəta chau or ray chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as ŋənechén; at the

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272 children at mealtime and as a between-meal drink. It is also served to visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

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THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

342 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trəkle ruka [house of pelts], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trəkle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with mudai was served, a celebration known as the kawiñtun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

[i.e. yerba maté. -Analyst]

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty.

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. House-building, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity.

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied.

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen.

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 574 [273] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult 868 857 233 [885]

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same [594] lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community.

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often [587] returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage.

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers 834 and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between them- 593 selves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die.

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an 596 extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system.

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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764 worked. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or *ülmen*'s house, long an object of display to visitors.

764 152 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of remorse on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*welufe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *welufe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The wake (*kurkawin*: black gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much 764 152 drinking and the performance of spontaneous *canipellun*, 783 during which the mikes hurl invectives at the forces of evil who are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *awn* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *üllotun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *awn* (encirclement).

764 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the 574 arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the wailing and mandilin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *awn* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *mutetun* (crying, sustaining), *kurkawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

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velael *wake* (velael: velorio or wake; *wake*: night), lasts at least four days and nights. Its termination at the end of this ritually suspicious number of days tends to coincide with the arrival of the last relatives who live some distance away. Awaiting the distant relatives is often given as the reason for the delayed burial, but, particularly in instances where some members of the deceased's family are anxious to get the body into the ground, "like the Catholics," this represents the opinion of few Mapuche. For the vast majority, the reason for the delay in final burial is stated differently. The body is displayed in an approximation to what present-day Mapuche consider the traditional manner, because in this way they are able to accord it the respect prescribed by *admapu*. Although on display, the corpse is kept isolated, insofar as it is not touched by the viewers. It is dangerous. This is common knowledge. It is preserved in state for the ritually perfect number of four days (if possible) because by doing so the well-being of the living as well as the dead tends to be insured. The notion of "curing" or "sustaining" the spirit of the deceased shows that this ritual delay in burial is a necessary procedure during the transitional period in which the newly released spirit is in danger of falling prey to the forces of evil.

There is some evidence that the Mapuche formerly practiced urn burial (cf. Cooper 1946: 734 ff., and bibliography), and that this custom later gave way to preserving not only the bones but the entire eviscerated corpse through smoking. Present-day informants knew nothing of urn burial or of special treatment of the deceased's bones, although they are aware that their remote ancestors interred the bones of their dead in urns, having discovered these ancient burial receptacles while plowing their fields and so forth. The practice of smoking the corpse and wrapping it in an ox or horse skin is part of the oral tradition, the few cases which occur today representing a disintegrating tradition (which is dubious) and eliciting sorrowful remarks from a few elders. Regardless of whether or not the corpse is actually handled in a way which distinguishes the Mapuche wake from the Chilean velorio, there is still a decidedly different emphasis in the concern which the Mapuche have about the state of the corpse. The spirit does not immedi-

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The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñil*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo*, *maqui*, and others), and, if the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

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the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llañi*, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the

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764 cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin*
574 (also orators) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the
[637] basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with
[602] the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving group, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

764 It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *llañi*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rokiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is
[261] always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin*
[261] had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

764 While the coffin is on the *llañi* in the ceremonial field, the
574 mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (man) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply
764 provided. The first helpings of food, especially horsemeat, are
57 served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilaterally
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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials (*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, although there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

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second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial

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celebration. If this happens, people usually manage to assist, as guests, at another *ñillatun* held by one or another of the tripartite units[1] (the Ds, Es, Fs, Gs, Hs). While being guests does not fully meet their obligation (they must, as soon as possible, take their turn as host group so that the ritual cycle will not be broken), it is a sort of safety mechanism by means of which such a unit may postpone the fulfillment of its obligations while giving evidence of continued good faith and pureness of heart (*kume piuke*). This temporary postponement is not the only such safety mechanism, but it will suffice for the example. The interdependence within subunits and between tripartite units indicates the parochial or vecinal aspect of congregationalism.

Referring again to the diagram, we may say that one year A undertakes primary responsibility in the conduct of *ñillatun*, and that after the usual council of elders meets, B and C join in the responsibility. [illegible] elders, composed [illegible] (usually all elders of the three reservations) [illegible] arrange for formal announcement to be made concerning details of the celebration. Word of these arrangements is passed informally about the neighborhood which, as arbitrarily depicted in the diagram, includes eighteen reservations.[2]

In the following year B holds the ceremony and A and C are joined with B as a responsible body of participants. Word is again spread informally through the vicinity. In the next year, C holds the *ñillatun*, and A and B share the responsibility. This ends the cycle, three phases having been completed. [illegible] fourth year, the primary [illegible] reservation A and a new [illegible]

Each year, as [illegible] that a *ñillatun* [illegible] either A, B, or C [illegible]

[1] This triple [illegible] cheland, but [illegible]

[2] I do not use [illegible] a more preci[illegible] to this point. [illegible] consisting main[illegible]

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if I could repair firearms, and one or two very antique specimens of flint pistols and blunderbusses were produced, the locks of which were wood-bound. Half an hour served to set these to rights, at which the owners were much delighted, and offered me tobacco, &c., which however I refused, taking instead a hide to make a small lazo.

After bidding, not adieu, but *au revoir*, to my new friends, whilst strolling back I was called into a toldo where four women were sitting sewing mantles. One, who appeared to be of the Pampa tribe, old and ugly, spoke Spanish, and stated that she was formerly in the Rio Negro with the cacique Chingoli. She acted as spokeswoman for the others, three tall, buxom lasses, daughters of a brother of Quintuhual, who was Capitanejo of the party. They were gaily dressed in variegated ponchos, with silk handkerchiefs bound round their fine glossy hair, which was plaited into two long tails, and set off their clear, fresh complexions charmingly. The first question they asked me was [illegible] came from. On answering, 'From the direction in which the sun rises,' they asked if it wasn't very hot there. They then asked if I had ever been above the sky; if I had not been dead one time and come to life again; whether Casimiro had not been dead and come back again, and various other questions of the same description.

After satisfying their curiosity to the best of my ability, and smoking a pipe, I received a message by Juan Antonio that Quintuhual wanted to see me in his toldo. Proceeding thither, I was shown to a seat on a poncho, and discoursed with the old chief for half an hour; at the end of which he made me a present of a 'jurga,' or, as the Tehuelches call it, 'lechu,' a sort of blanket made by their women like the poncho, except, instead of two parts with a [illegible] the head to pass through, it consists of [illegible] was perfectly new, having been made by his daughters.

After a [illegible]

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of [illegible] attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother [illegible] of the ceremonies, hand[illegible] were soon very [illegible] retired, in company [illegible] whom was [illegible] of a distu[illegible]

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CHAPTER VII.

LAS MANZANAS.

Catching a Thief—Miss Foyel—Start for Las Manzanas—First View of the Apple Groves—Omens of War—Inacayal's Tolderia—Crossing the Rio Limay—Mr. Cox's Shipwreck—Lenketrou's Raid—A Night of Alarm—Bravery of my Cousins—The Great Cheoeque—A Mounted Parlemento—Apples and Piñones—Graviel's Madness—Las Manzanas—Cheoeque's Palace—The Revels—Feuds between the Chiefs—The Picunches and the Passes to Valdivia—Trading and Politics—Resolu-

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etiquette; then retired to keep Hinchel, who would not drink, company by his fireside. Whilst chatting together he related how, many years ago, this place had been the scene of a great battle between the Tehuelches and Manzaneros, in which he, though only a boy, was struck down by a bola perdida and wounded with a lance whilst on the ground; the battle resulting in a victory to the Tehuelches.

The day following the drink, meat being scarce, I dined in Foyel's toldo off a little cornmeal and a dessert of apples and piñones, of which the honours were done by his daughter, a pretty girl of eighteen, with long black silky hair, which it was the special duty of her handmaid—a captive Tehuelche girl—to dress daily. This young lady never condescended to any menial labour, though she occasionally busied her delicate fingers with the needle; her dowry of about eighty mares and the influence of her father made her of course a most desirable match; but she, up to the time of my departure, had exercised the privilege of an heiress

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smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had such an air of civilization about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturbance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Cheoeque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Cheoeque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the

from his Tehuelche mother,

jects, exhibited a lurking

er was rather sardonic. He

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referring to Devonshire,

all our conversation was

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carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Cheoeque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Cheoeque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Cheoeque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlemento a grand banquet was given by Cheoeque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoeque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward,

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823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white
583 beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[623] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed

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as a friend. All our business, both commercial and political, being concluded, and the farewell banquet over, Cheoeque distributed gifts of horses, &c., among the Tehuelches in return for the numerous presents he had received from them. As a set-off to a set of gold studs, he presented me with one of the peculiar lances always used by his people, about fifteen to eighteen feet long and very light, the shaft being made of a cane, which grows in the Cordillera forests, strongly resembling a bamboo, and of the thickness of the butt of a stout pike rod. This present, by the way, caused me to commit a breach of etiquette. I placed it leaning against the toldo, and was at once requested to remove it, as it was a sign of war, though whether it was regarded as a challenge or an omen was not clear; but I was instructed that the lance must either be laid down on or planted upright in the ground. Another lance was also bestowed on Casimiro, besides numerous horses and other valuables. We took leave of the powerful Cheoeque, and of Linares, with whom, as it had been settled that I should proceed as chasqui, I made an agreement to meet in Patagones, and on the 11th started on our return to the toldos, all in high satisfaction at the success of our visit. The natural exultation of Casimiro was much lessened by the continual illness of his son Graviel, on whom a careful watch had to be kept to restrain him, in the event of his being attacked by another paroxysm of madness.

Riding up the valley where we had slept the night previous to arriving at Cheoeque's, we observed some cattle in the thickets on the borders of the stream; part of the herd belonging to the chief, which had been stowed away in various secluded parts of the neighbourhood. We crossed the barren high pampa, and descended, about one o'clock, to the banks of the Rio Limay, bivouacing in the same spot as on our journey to Las Manzanas, close to Inacayal's toldos. Here we found Orkeke and a good many other Tehuelches; also the four wounded men, two of whom were already on the highroad to recovery.